SCATTERED over the commune are eight "stâne" or temporary summer settlements which are all situated between 400 and 800 metres above the village. The stâna itself is a simple affair, consisting of a log hut which affords living accommodation for the shepherds and acts as a dairy and store-house, together with the folds into which the animals are driven for milking. The one illustrated had a population of three men and two boys, all Roumanians, 350 sheep and 20 cows, as well as a few pigs, the only animals left in the village being the one or two milch cows retained at each farm for family needs and the draught animals (see Plate XIII).

THE change from winter to spring takes place very rapidly during the second fortnight of April, and the ascent to the dairies is made at the end of that month or early in May. Before the animals are taken up the milk yield of the cows is tested in order to determine the apportionment of the cheese made therefrom, but the ewes' milk cheese is distributed on the basis of the number of sheep belonging to each peasant. Shortly after the ascent the village priest performs the ceremony of blessing each stâna in turn, and before the end of May the sheep are sheared by peasants who go up specially for the purpose, the wool being brought down to the village on horseback.

SINCE the summer pastures are communal property their administration is in the hands of an assembly of heads of families which assesses the rent to be paid for the season—generally 12-15 lei for a sheep and 50 lei for a cow. The money thus received forms a fund from which the shepherds are paid for their services. Each peasant makes personal arrangements with the senior shepherd as to the amount of cheese he will require for household purposes, any surplus going into a common stock which is marketed at the end of the season. Any disputes that arise are settled by arbitration in the presence of the mayor when the shepherds return to the village. This takes place during the latter part of October, the descent of each group being celebrated by minor festivities at which the shepherds are the guests of honour. The general feast held when all are down marks the official end of the season's activities.

UPON their return to the village the cows are immediately stabled, but each peasant splits up his sheep into two groups,

PLATE VIII

234

Early morning at a Stână. Time about 5-6 a.m. Milking the sheep.

Early morning at a Stână, [illegible] being released after milking.

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owner's farm, where the cows are kept in sheds, and the sheep, which are more hardy, are penned on the arable land, particularly on the maize stubble. Both sheep and cattle are fed on fodder crops during the winter. The surplus animals are sold at the autumn fair, and form a source of revenue.

WHILST ON the high pastures the sheep are clipped twice, and the wool is divided amongst the peasants in proportion to the number of animals sent up. The cheese is usually shared by the owners of the animals in the same way, the mayor and his committee being responsible for the correct apportionment. In the Valley of the Argeş co-operative dealers from Bucharest frequently buy the cheese "in bulk" direct from the commune, and the monetary value is shared between the owners of the animals.

OXEN ARE used almost exclusively for draught purposes, the numbers kept in this district being somewhat in excess of the farmers' requirements, owing to their use for lumbering (see below).

PEASANT FARMING in the Valley of the Argeş is no longer entirely on a subsistence basis. Two factors have tended to modify it. Firstly, the position of the valley, opening as it does directly on the Wallachian Plain, with its rich grain lands and containing the capital Bucharest, has allowed commercial intercourse to develop. The Argeş peasant no longer cultivates wheat; he does not mind if his maize crop is good enough for fodder only, for he can buy both wheat and maize from the plain. Further, he finds a ready market and so a money income in Bucharest for his surplus fruit, particularly apples, and cheese. Secondly, the forests form a valuable asset to the peasant. During the winter felling takes place in the upper basin of the Argeş; in spring and summer the timber is transported, and work in the State mill in Curtea goes on all the year round. Practically every household has somebody working in the timber trade, and the money so earned (as much as 100 lei per day for a man supplying his own yoke of oxen) reduces the dependence of the family on the farm.

AT CURTEA DE ARGEŞ is the School of Agriculture, Regina Elizabeta. Although only a small percentage of its pupils is local, it is gradually influencing the farming of the neighbourhood. Experiments in cultivation, plant breeding and

471 the shepherds and cheese-maker. These dues, amounting to
233 some 10 or 20 lei per sheep, are worked out each year by a committee which regulates the financial side of the transhumant economy.

234 EACH STÂNĂ has its baciu or cheese-maker, who is paid by
233 the commune. In some districts this scheme is varied by
471 arrangements which must represent modifications of the old economy of collective shepherding. Occasionally a large farmer may be proprietor of a stână and may possess enough sheep to run his own pasturing, in which case he may either hire a cheese-maker or fill that rôle in person. Or he may let his stână to the highest bidder, who pays in cheese obtained from the flock. From this it is a short step to the emergence of the middleman who, possessing no sheep himself, rents a pasture and guarantees to return an agreed quantity of cheese per sheep to those who send him their stock.

233 BEGINNING OUR account with the descent from the mountains,
221 we find that the uppermost pastures are abandoned by the last day of August, and the return downhill takes place during the first fortnight in September, being normally completed by September 14th (The Feast of the Cross). The sheep are driven to the local pastures until the maize crop is gathered, when they are penned on the stubble. Movement uphill begins about the middle of April and is completed by May 1st in an average year, St. George's Day (April 23rd) being a central date. Each peasant is responsible for driving his own sheep, using recognized tracks which tend to follow the watersheds. The sheep thus avoid the deep valley-crossings and can avail themselves of occasional natural clearings for temporary halts in a journey which may last a week. These are points of some importance in connection with the study of ridgeway roads generally.

342 THE SHEPHERD'S hut is a log-cabin erected on a single foundation-course of boulders. It is roofed with shingles or long planks; the gable is boarded above the level of the eaves, and a gap at the apex serves in place of chimney. Scarcely any metal is used in the construction of these summer dwellings, which serve as dairies and storehouses in addition to providing shelter and sleeping-places for the shepherds.
000 The furniture is of the simplest, but much ingenuity is

1 [for explanation see footnote 30 pp. 49, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

462 In the Carpathians, while some stâne are inhabited by
233 families of shepherds, others have men only, and purely "feminine" stâne are not unknown. There appear to be regional differences based perhaps on the varying requirements of the lowland crops, and all forms are said to be of some antiquity; it cannot be shown that the "masculine" stâne represent an older type than those where both sexes
[834] take part, or vice versa. But it is significant that in some parts there is a definite *tabu* against women, and the shepherds must have no relations with them in the prescribed season, from the arrival at the stână to July 20th (St. Eloi). In the areas we visited, while the shepherds were exclusively male, women from the villages occasionally ride up with messages or food, and may stay at the hut for a day or two.

● 234 On reaching the pastures, to resume, the sheep are divided
233 into separate flocks—milkers and non-milkers, lambs and wethers. Only the milkers are kept in the immediate neighbourhood of the stână, the rest being driven uphill or to the shelter of the forest's edge, according to their requirements. Two milkings are usual, about 6 o'clock morning and evening. The sheep are driven into the *strunga*, a fenced enclosure near the hut, where the shepherd-boy introduces them one by one into a narrow roofed exit at which the milkers sit. The milk is forthwith poured into a copper cauldron over which the *baciu*[2] stands at the fireside, stirring
[326] the contents with the peeled, spiked top of a spruce. The copper pot is tinned inside, this work being done by the gipsies. Into the simmering milk the *baciu* throws a pinch of rennet, and then works the curds into a thick pulp. A simple press—a canvas bag twisted with a tourniquet and weighted with a stone—next comes into use, and after three days salt is added and the cheese is finally kneaded and stored in a sheepskin which has been specially prepared by drying and scraping. This is cheese of the first quality (brânză), a poorer quality (urdă) being obtained from the whey left in the copper after taking out the curds. The urdă is often stored in small skins, e.g. rabbit, or in containers made of bark or hollowed branches. Much of the cheese in these days is bought by co-operative societies.

262 It is the duty of the *baciu*,[2] further, to prepare food for the shepherds. Onions, beans and paprika make vegetable soup, and maize-bread and cheese complete a diet which may be varied now and again with smoked mutton. Another task

1 [For explanatory footnote see pp.49, Ct. 116 - - Analyst]
2 [cheese maker of the Stâna -52- Analyst]

241

*Production of Principal Crops**
Average 1935-38
('000 *metric tons*)

Wheat	3,077
Rye	430
Barley	1,071
Oats	604
Maize	5,215
Potatoes ..	2,010
Sugar beet† ..	570
Peas	43
Beans	230
Tobacco ..	12
Sunflower seed	177
Soya beans ..	42
Rape seed ..	48

* Pre 1939 frontiers.
† This produced 110,000 m. tons of raw sugar.

4. Livestock

231

One of the chief weaknesses of Rumanian agriculture is the low density of livestock. Numbers of cattle per 100 acres of farm land are less than half those of this country and Germany; about half the farms possess no cows. A large proportion of the cattle, moreover, are draught animals which require land to feed them but which yield little saleable produce. Moreover, the annual milk yield per cow averages less than 1,350 litres (300 gallons) as compared with over 700 gallons in Denmark.

[234]

Of pigs, the numbers and quality compare even less favourably with those of other countries. Only in the Banat district is there an approach to an interlocking of grain production with pig-raising. Sheep are an important source of income to the peasants of the Transylvanian mountains, a region where water buffaloes are kept as draught animals since they require no sustenance other than a daily cold bath and a few maize stalks.

Livestock numbers in 1938, and the production of livestock products in 1935-38, were as follows:—

*Livestock Numbers**
'000 *head*

Horses	2,158
Cattle	4,161
(including cows)	(2,030)
Buffaloes ..	165
Sheep	12,768
Goats	399
Pigs	3,165
Poultry ..	34,000

* Pre-1939 frontiers.

*Production of Livestock Products**
Average 1935-38
('000 *metric tons*)

[234]

Milk‡	3,000
Butter	20
Cheese	30
Beef and veal ..	120
Mutton and lamb	20
Pork	152
Poultry meat ..	60

* Pre-1939 frontiers.
‡ Cows, buffaloes, sheep and goats.

5. Fish

228

[656]

All fishing along the Danube, including the mouths of the delta, and along the western shores of the Black Sea coast, is controlled by the State Fisheries Administration. The total annual catch in State-owned waters averaged 15,000 tons in the years immediately preceding the war, of which fresh-water fish contributed more than two-thirds. This does not, however, represent the total catch, as fairly large quantities were caught

76]

262 grammes (10½ oz.) daily was available on five days
434 of the week only; on the other two days maize
511 meal only (for *mămăligă*) could be bought. The bread ration was reduced to 250 grammes in June 1942 and maize meal itself was rationed in August. The number of breadless days has varied, while barley, flour or potatoes have at times been offered in place of maize meal. The bread mixture has also included varying proportions of maize, barley, potato and other flours. The allowance in June 1943 was 2500 grammes of bread on five days and 1,000 grammes (35 oz.) of maize flour or potato flour on each of the remaining two days. All these quantities apply to Bucarest only. Other towns show variants of these regulations, depending on local supplies.

234 The most serious shortage in Bucarest, and
435 possibly in other towns, appears to be milk.
511 Owing to the depletion of surrounding herds, following the high cost and scarcity of fodder, only a small part of the former supply now arrives. Some milk, as with all products, is diverted to the Black Market, and official mistakes in price policy at various times have caused temporary gluts or stoppages in food supplies. Other livestock products and edible oil are also chronically short in the towns.

7. Food Prices

435 In spite of official attempts to protect con-
565 sumers from increases, retail prices and the cost of
511 living have risen almost to the same extent as producers' and wholesale prices. Taking autumn 1939 as 100, the cost of living was 330 and the cost of food 350 in the spring of 1943. These increases have been severely felt by the working and lower-middle classes. Official measures were taken to alleviate the situation of civil servants by the setting up of stores and canteens with reduced prices, some of the goods being supplied from Transnistria. Likewise firms with over 50 employees were ordered to supply them with essential foodstuffs at low prices. Persons with more ample resources make use of the Black Market on which all the ordinary foodstuffs are obtainable usually at only two to three times the official prices, the moderate character of these illegal prices being itself another illustration of the large quantities available through these channels, due to the laxity of control.